2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

another husband. "My brother found a man for me. I did not want that man but I could say nothing against my brother," (26). The males of the group were in authority and their responsibility for the sister was resumed as soon as her connection with the distant village ceased.

This sometimes happened without her losing her husband. For various reasons, listed elsewhere, she might find it convenient to return with her husband and share the family land. No objection was ever made to this practice and for three groups of brothers only, there are five groups including one or more sisters. (I. 1. A. B. C. D. E; I. 3. B. 5. 9. and 12; I. 6. A. B. C. D; I. 7. A. B. C; I. 8. A B. C. D. E). In such a case, the sister's husband was given exactly the same status as a brother, sharing land, services and payments. But the sex division continued for even adult men should not converse too freely with their sisters. It was the sister's husband who received intimate treatment, while the sister joined the group of her brother's wives.

Outside the group of blood brothers and sisters, were the "distant siblings", the cross and parallel cousins on both side of the house with whom marriage was forbidden. But the relationship was sometimes rather vague if the relative lived in a distant village. "They married me to one whom I called elder brother but he was very distant. And he lived in another village so we thought there was no harm" (26). In childhood, if cousins were the children of brothers, they might live very intimately but as they grew up, they formed their own sibling groups and were cut off from their former companions. Still, they were thought of as potential intimates and, whenever the geographic difficulty could be overcome, they were accepted into the circle. "I heard this story from my father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. She was living with us that winter" (26). In cases of necessity, also, duty to a sibling had to be done at all costs. I. B. 1 was an old man with three wives but when his distant senior sibling died and there was no one to marry the widow I. B. 1 became her titular husband although neither he nor she cared to have her live with him.

It may be of interest to note whether Papago behavior shows any emphasis on seniority outside that involved in the levirate and sororate. Very little is apparent for, although in the origin myth, the supernaturals strove for the title of Elder Brother, no modern informant could explain why the title was important. Such a title is usually connected with inheritance of property or office but Papago sons inherit the father's land equally, sometimes without dividing it. I. 1. 8. B. 1, an oldest brother, voluntarily absented himself and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

left the inherited field to the others. Ceremonial and secular office were handed down by the father, not to the oldest son but to that one fittest to receive them. "I started teaching my ritual to my oldest son, but it seemed he couldn't learn. Then I tried the second but he was always away, working for the Whites. Now I must get a nephew," (2). The father-in-law of 21 tried teaching the calendar stick to his son, found him a poor memorizer and gave it to his son-in-law. Thus the eldest does not inherit property or office nor does he, apparently have authority. (I. 1. A an oldest son and II 1. 8. A. 2, an oldest daughter, took authority in their groups, but this was rather by virtue of character than seniority.) It is true there is authority in the family but it is exercised by the brothers in a group over the sisters, not by one oldest son.

Seniority would seem to be referable only to sororate and levirate, which dictated the kinship terms and we may question whether its appearance in the myth is not also a heritage from some of the other cultures where the same myth is found and where the older brother may have more importance.

Sibling behavior according to this data matches sibling terminology in those points emphasized by the terms, which are points having to do with marriage. Cousins on both sides of the house are considered equal and are impossible as mates while their age status is important because of junior levirate and sororate. But in daily life there appear two other important factors, not reflected in the terms: sex of the relative which conditions social behavior and geographic situation on which all kin behavior is contingent.

PARENT CLASS. Probably the most intimate relation in Papago life was that between father and son. The father was the head of an economic unit, with his sons as his working staff. He directed their labor and arranged for the sale of the produce. If new equipment was needed for any member of the family out of the common supply, he decided upon it. He was responsible for the behavior of his sons and, long after their marriage, he continued to direct them by moral discourse. He, with the mother, decided upon the marriages and received the brides under his protection. When the sons underwent ceremonial purification it was he, first of all, who should make the payment and receive the consequent blessing. He continued as their protector and advisor until his own death, and began very early to train one of them to carry on any office he might hold or to practice any skill. Hunting or weaving, therefore, ran in special families, where the father passed on his knowledge to his sons.

Although the father was so definitely the head of the family, he ruled, as did the chief, by moral suasion rather than by force. He and